

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE

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EXDIS; CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PDEV, NI, US, RH, SW

SUBJECT: VANCE-GARBA MEETING: SOUTHERN AFRICA

SUMMARY: ONE-HOUR MEETING BETWEEN SECRETARY VANCE,
AMBASSADOR YOUNG, AND NIGERIAN COMMISSIONER FOR
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS GARBA MAY 24 WAS DEVOTED MAINLY TO
RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, PRINCIPALLY THE FORMER. GARBA
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AND THE SECRETARY RECOUNTED THEIR EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE
SITHOLE AND MUZOREWA, RESPECTIVELY, TO PARTICIPATE IN
AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING. BOTH GARBA AND THE SECRETARY
SAW SIGNS OF PROGRESS STEMMING FROM THE INCREASINGLY
APPARENT WEAKNESSES OF THE INTERNAL AGREEMENT. THE
SECRETARY TOLD GARBA OF KAUNDA'S INTENTION TO CALL A
FRONT LINE MEETING ON NAMIBIA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

RESPONDING TO QUESTION FROM MR. VANCE, GARBA SAID HE BELIEVED THAT WITH REGARD TO RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, WE WERE DOING ABOUT ALL WE COULD AT THIS TIME BY CONTINUING OUR EFFORTS TO KEEP TALKING WITH ALL THE PARTIES INVOLVED IN THE TWO DISPUTES. END SUMMARY.

1. THE SECRETARY AND AMBASSADOR YOUNG MET WITH GARBA, NIGERIAN UN PERM REP HARRIMAN, EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICIAL BRONSON DEDE AND NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR TO GENEVA O. ADENIJI AT 5:15 PM IN THE SECRETARY'S SUITE AT THE UN PLAZA HOTEL IN NEW YORK. THE CONVERSATION QUICKLY TURNED TO RHODESIA. GARBA DESCRIBED HIS MEETING EARLIER IN THE MONTH WITH SITHOLE IN LONDON, ALTHOUGH IN LESS DETAIL THAN DEDE HAD PROVIDED AMBASSADOR EASUM (LAGOS 6106). HE SAID HE HAD EMPHASIZED TO SITHOLE THAT BY OPTING FOR THE INTERNAL AGREEMENT SITHOLE HAD LOST CREDIBILITY IN AFRICA. HE HAD TOLD SITHOLE THAT PARTICIPATION IN AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING WOULD PROVIDE HIM WITH AN OPPORTUNITY TO REDEEM HIMSELF.

2. ACCORDING TO GARBA, SITHOLE AGREED TO WORK FOR THE ALL-PARTIES MEETING BUT SAID HE WANTED TIME TO RETURN TO SALISBURY AND CONSULT WITH HIS PEOPLE. SITHOLE SUBSEQUENTLY CONTACTED GARBA TO SAY HE WANTED TO SEE HIM IN NEW YORK OR LONDON. GARBA TOLD THE

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SECRETARY HE EXPECTED TO SEE SITHOLE IN LONDON LATER THIS WEEK WHEN HE PASSES THROUGH THERE ON HIS WAY TO LAGOS. LATER IN THE CONVERSATION, GARBA OBSERVED THAT SITHOLE IS FRIGHTENED ("WHEN HE LEFT ME, HE WAS SHIVERING."). TINY ROWLANDS HAD TOLD GARBA THAT SITHOLE WAS FEELING VERY INSECURE.

3. SECRETARY VANCE INFORMED GARBA THAT HE HAD TALKED TO A MAN WHO HAD WORKED FOR SOME YEARS WITH MUZOREWA AND WHO STRONGLY SUPPORTED THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN. THIS PERSON WAS GOING TO GO TO SALISBURY TO SEE MUZOREWA AND TRY TO CONVINCE HIM TO AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING. HE WOULD LEAVE FOR SALISBURY SHORTLY. GARBA NOTED THAT HE HAD KEPT KAUNDA AND NYERERE INFORMED ON WHAT HE HAD BEEN DOING REGARDING RHODESIA.

4. SECRETARY VANCE AND GARBA AGREED THAT WE WERE MAKING PROGRESS. GARBA SAID HE BELIEVED THAT "WE HAVE GONE BEYOND THE MOST DIFFICULT PART." THE INTERNAL AGREEMENT WAS VERY FRAGILE AND PEOPLE LIKE SITHOLE NOW SEE THAT THE WAR IS NOT GOING TO END AND THAT IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO HOLD ELECTIONS.

5. THE SECRETARY BRIEFLY DESCRIBED THE PLAN FOR LOW AND GRAHAM TO FLY TO LUSAKA AND THEN PROCEED TO SALISBURY. HE AGREED WITH GARBA THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR CARVER TO BE INCLUDED IN THE GRAHAM-LOW MISSION, AND PREM CHAND AS WELL IF HE WISHES. WHEN GARBA ASKED WHERE HE THOUGHT THE ALL-PARTIES CONFERENCE SHOULD BE HELD, AMBASSADOR YOUNG TOLD HIM OUR TENTATIVE IDEA WAS THAT A "CROSS-BORDER CONFERENCE" IN THE VICTORIA FALLS-LIVINGSTON AREA WOULD BE BEST.

6. AMBASSADOR YOUNG SAID THAT HE HAD TALKED TO CUBAN

FOREIGN MINISTER RODRIGUEZ ABOUT THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN
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ISSUES. RODRIGUEZ HAD SAID THAT CUBA WAS NOT DISCOURAGING THE EFFORT TO FIND NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENTS IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA. HOWEVER, IF THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT STATED THIS PUBLICLY, BOTH VORSTER AND SMITH WOULD FEEL LESS COMPELLED THAN THEY NOW DO, BECAUSE OF THEIR FEAR OF CUBAN MILITARY INVOLVEMENT, TO ACCEPT NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENTS. RODRIGUEZ HAD ALSO SAID THAT CUBA HAS NO WISH TO BECOME MILITARILY INVOLVED IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

7. AMB. YOUNG SAID RODRIGUEZ HAD MAINTAINED THAT THE CUBANS ARE NOT TELLING THE LIBERATION FORCES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WHAT THEY SHOULD DO. YOUNG EXPRESSED TO GARBA HIS BELIEF, HOWEVER, THAT THE RUSSIANS CERTAINLY ARE ADVISING THE LIBERATION FORCES WHAT THEY SHOULD DO. THE SECRETARY SAID HE HAD TOLD THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR TO TELL GROMYKO THAT THE TIME HAD COME FOR THE RUSSIANS TO STOP BEING NEGATIVE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA. HE ADDED THAT HE INTENDS TO CONVEY THIS DIRECTLY TO GROMYKO WHEN HE TALKS WITH HIM IN NEW YORK.

8. TURNING TO NAMIBIA, AMBASSADOR YOUNG SAID IT WAS HIS CLEAR IMPRESSION FROM A PRIVATE TALK HE HAD WITH SAM NUJOMA THAT, AFTER THE WALIVS BASE ISSUE, NUJOMA'S GREATEST CONCERN WAS FOR THE PERSONAL SECURITY OF HIMSELF AND OTHER SWAPO FIGURES IF THEY RETURN TO NAMIBIA. THIS IS ESPECIALLY THE CASE BECAUSE OF THE HERERO ANGER WHICH HAS BEEN DIRECTED AT SWAPO SINCE THE KAPUWO ASSASSINATION. YOUNG HAD TRIED TO ASSURE NUJOMA THAT THE PRESENCE OF THE UN WOULD PROVIDE SWAPO WITH GUARANTEED SECURITY. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT THE NEXT KEY EVENT REGARDING NAMIBIA WOULD BE A FRONT LINE MEETING. PRESIDENT KAUNDA HAD TOLD US THE FRONT LINE WOULD HOLD A MEETING, PERHAPS IN LUANDA, SOON AFTER HE
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RETURNED TO AFRICA. KAUNDA WANTED STEVE LOW TO BE PRESENT, BUT DID NOT WANT LARGE REPRESENTATION BY THE CONTACT GROUP. DON MCHENRY IS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA NOW AND WOULD BE AVAILABLE FOR THE FRONT LINE MEETING.

9. THE SECRETARY ASKED GARBA WHETHER THERE WAS ANYTHING WE COULD OR SHOULD BE DOING ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA BEYOND WHAT WE ARE DOING NOW. GARBA REPLIED, "I DON'T SEE WHAT ELSE WE CAN DO BEYOND CONTINUING TO MEET QUIETLY WITH THE PARTIES INVOLVED." THE SECRETARY AND GARBA AGREED TO KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH ON FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS. VANCE

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